

# THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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## THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER

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### CONTENTS.

Mr. M'Gregor Laird and the Colonial Gazette .....	149	The New Treaty with the United States .....	154
Case of Nelson Hackett .....	150	Important proceedings at Trinidad .....	—
The Riot in Philadelphia .....	151	Sugar Culture in Cuba .....	155
Egyptian Slave Hunts .....	152	Literary Notice .....	156
LEADERS: Coercion in Trinidad .....	153	Contemporary Press .....	—
Riot in Philadelphia .....	154	The Mendi Mission .....	—
Nelson Hackett .....	—	Miscellanea .....	—
Mauritius .....	—		

### MR. M'GREGOR LAIRD AND THE COLONIAL GAZETTE.

A FEW words are called for from us, in reply to the observations of Mr. Laird and the *Colonial Gazette* on our recent remarks.

The latter sharply impugns our motives. According to it, we have no object in view but a prolongation of the "exciting pastimes" of the Anti-slavery Society; not only "the rescue of the West Indies from ruin, and of the British public from heavy loss," but "practical attacks on the slave-trade, and tangible measures to bring direct benefit to Africa," being "sacrificed at the shrine of that vain glory," and "shifting and tortuous means" being employed to attain it. We tender our thanks for the honour which our contemporary thus does, if not to ourselves, at least to our argument. It was, of course, because he could not answer that he reviled us.

Because we insisted on a leading point on which the West African Committee differ with him, he takes occasion to occupy nearly two columns with "propositions" in which they agree with him. This is no answer to us. As to "denying" to the two parliamentary committees "the merit of being his 'docile pupils'"—we did no such thing. We merely smiled at the expression, which we thought bordered on the ludicrous; and we think so still.

The writer then proceeds to defend Mr. Laird, *more suo*. He begins by accusing us of an "open hostility to all free emigration." This is equally without evidence and without truth. We are, and have always declared ourselves to be, friends to free emigration. Will our contemporary adduce any proof to the contrary? "Having pretended," he continues, "that the committees had sanctioned nothing"—we never "pretended," or intimated, any such thing; we only expressed our gratification that they have not sanctioned all that the West Indians demanded. But, at all events, we have used a "series of quibbling and special pleadings" in commenting on Mr. Laird's plan. Now comes the tug of war.

"For instance," says the *Gazette*, "there is an affectation of considering Mr. Laird apart from other advocates of free African emigration, because he says in one place that the subject must be regarded 'on African grounds alone,' and it is roundly asserted that he neither pursues the same object with them, nor urges his plan by the same arguments. The assertion is untrue." Gently, Mr. Editor; do not be totally oblivious of controversial courtesy. We maintain, however, that the assertion is strictly accurate. On a careful review of the paper now in question, it is clear to us that he assigns no other reason why emigration from Africa to the West Indies should be encouraged, but that the benefit of Africa itself would be promoted by it. All that he states respecting the West Indies, is for the sole purpose of demonstrating "the capability of the British colonies to employ usefully and profitably a very large addition to their present population;" which is certainly a very different thing from arguing that, for the sake of such profit to the West Indies, emigration should be

encouraged from Africa. So much for the charge of untruth. How absurd it is (as the *Gazette* alleges) to advocate African emigration exclusively on such a ground, must be demonstrated to Mr. Laird.

The writer goes on to say that "the West Indians will naturally deal with" the question of African emigration "on West Indian grounds." In relation to this "proposition" we are happy to rank ourselves among the "docile pupils" of the *Colonial Gazette*; and we happen to have in our hands a morsel cut from a recent number of the *Trinidad Standard*, affording conclusive evidence that we are both of us in the right. Noticing an article in the *Jamaica Morning Journal*, in which, as a plea for favouring that island with emigrants before Trinidad, the writer mentions its greater facilities for qualifying them to benefit their country, the *Standard* uses the following language—"All the writer says about educating the immigrants to send them back to enlighten Africa is just twaddle, and fit only for the old ladies of Peckham-Rye and Clapham Common. If, however, these same old ladies should insist upon anything of the sort, we rather think we shall be as competent as Jamaica to comply even with their demand, being better able to afford the expense of instruction." We hope this candid statement of the light in which the Trinidad planter (of whom we have heard the *Colonial Gazette* say very handsome things before now) regard the new scheme for the civilization of Africa, and of the assiduity with which they will promote it, will have its due effect, at least on the parties for whom it is intended. No doubt the Trinidadians will, nevertheless, hail Mr. Laird as a most praiseworthy auxiliary.

Our contemporary quotes, "as another instance of blind opposition to objects which should be dear to opponents of slavery," the passage in which we notice Mr. Laird's scheme of "protecting" all Africans who might come to British ports. He says, "the *Anti-slavery Reporter*, then, condemns the protecting of fugitives against 'either their chiefs or their captors:' it will not say that it so objects, but at all events it objects to their being invited to protection." We have objected to neither; but specifically to what Mr. Laird proposes, "a systematic invitation of refugees for the purpose of being shipped off to the West Indies." That we are not wrong in this point may be shown (possibly to the satisfaction of our contemporary himself) by a reference to p. 740 of the evidence taken before the West African Committee, where Mr. Matthew Forster says—"Care must be taken not to make our settlements, or any other places from which we draw the emigrants, the common refuge for criminals or runaway slaves from the interior for the purpose of emigration; otherwise the native chiefs might put those places under the ban of all communication, and thereby prevent that free intercourse with British settlements on which so much depends."

The *Gazette* finds fault with us for saying that the African cannot "learn civilization in three years." Then he may stop longer, quoth our contemporary. We note it down, therefore, that, at the period when he is to be entitled to a free passage home, no party thinks the African emigrant will be adapted to benefit his country.

It is further alleged that we have "assumed that emigrants will never go, if they are to be told that they are to toil in sugar estates." Quite the contrary. What we have said, and proved is, that this is Mr. Laird's doctrine.

"They do go," says the *Gazette*; and cites the halting and uncertain emigration from Sierra Leone. Even if this were far more to the purpose than it is, it would be quite enough to reply, that the emigration of native Africans from their homes cannot be estimated by so widely different a case. "One might almost suppose," the *Gazette* continues, "that the anti-slavery profession [where is the gist of this new appellation!] desire to convert the West Indies into a 'fool's paradise' for the benefit of the black labourers." Our contemporary is quite wrong. We know that, if they go there, they must labour. We only think that their position as labourers will not be favourable to their becoming qualified in mass to civilize and enlighten their country.

We cannot take leave of the writer we have thus far had to do with, without saying that his mode of reply tends strongly to convince us of the conclusiveness of our own arguments. We scarcely remember in so small a space so many misconceptions, misrepresentations, and irrelevant replies. To truth (whatever may be gained by a party) no service is rendered by such writing as this. It is not long that we have met with it in the columns of the *Colonial Gazette*; and the continued appearance of it can scarcely fail to impair both the reputation and the power of that hitherto able and well conducted journal.



We must say a few words ere we close in reply to the sensible and good-spirited letter of Mr. Laird. This gentleman falls into an error when he says that we expressed "great doubt that any benefit would arise from the contact of Africans with Europeans, and civilized men of their own race" in the West Indies. What we questioned was the attainment of *such an amount* of benefit as would qualify them to become the civilizers of Africa. This Mr. Laird's scheme implies, and this he was bound to show. What is his reply? They will acquire, he tells us, "some knowledge of tropical agriculture;" 2, "some knowledge of the law they live under;" 3, "some idea of the decencies of life;" and 4, "some notion of a purer faith than paganism." That these elements will be adequate to the regeneration of Africa he does not affirm; and we think he will hesitate long before he does affirm it. Till then our argument remains untouched.

In reply to our suspicions respecting the numbers of Africans, who "might be got for food and protection" Mr. Laird says:—

I will state a case which will show that in that unhappy country it is to be done. In June 1833, I was on the Niger a few miles below the confluence of the Tchadda. The Felatahs made a slaving excursion, and swept the West Bank of the Niger from Rabbah downwards. From the deck of my steamer, I counted six towns in flames at one time; the miserable inhabitants that escaped across the stream, there about 1200 yards wide, encamped under my guns on the eastern bank; the decks of my vessel were crowded with suppliants for "food and protection." Here was a case where I might have saved thousands of lives, if I could have offered them a permanent refuge. In the same year a chief on the Calabar river died: his war canoe was pulled by forty men: a few days after his death, the canoe came down the river with the skulls of those men placed on the thwarts where in life they had sat, the whole having been sacrificed at his funeral.

These are just such cases as we imagined. Not for a single moment should we deprecate the extension of British "protection" to such sufferers, and "food" follows of course. But what we have objected to is the offering of such protection *with the view of shipping off the parties to the West Indies*. If we could protect them in their homes, or if we had a home in Africa to offer them, we should have nothing to say against it: but to offer protection for the purpose of shipping off the parties to the West Indies, is only doing ourselves under the plea of kindness, what the slave-traders are doing by open hostility.

To our opinion that an extensive "re-emigration to Africa is a fallacy," Mr. Laird replies,—"Is he not aware that it has commenced?" And he quotes the return of "sixty-eight Africans, principally captured slaves, originally taken into the Bahamas, and afterwards removed to Demerara," together with that of "seventeen emancipated slaves," who "bought up the time of their apprenticeship" in the same colony. But these cases prove nothing to the purpose. Mr. Laird relies on the return of large numbers, and on large numbers of those who left their native shores, not by force, but voluntarily. That "mysterious sympathy in the mind of the negro with his country," which draws him back to it when he had been torn from it by violence, cannot surely be reckoned upon as existing powerfully in those who desert it from choice.

#### CASE OF NELSON HACKETT.

From the *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

[Application having been made by Mr. Scoble, on behalf of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, for the facts in connection with this important case, which was the subject of a parliamentary inquiry, we lost no time in communicating such information as was at hand, promising to make further inquiry, and communicate the result. Charles H. Stewart, Esq., of Detroit, being on a visit to this city, and knowing he was in possession of the material facts, we immediately applied to him on the subject. He very promptly wrote out a narrative of the facts for publication, and we have great pleasure in laying it before our readers. Mr. Stewart is an Irishman by birth, is a lawyer of high respectability in Michigan, and President of the Anti-Slavery Society of that state. The most implicit confidence may be placed in his statements. The circumstances attending this case are of a most important character—Sir Charles Bagot has probably been most ingloriously imposed upon—and the British government will, we doubt not, provide against the recurrence of a similar event.]

Hackett was a slave in Arkansas. In the spring or summer of 1841, he was at a race course with his legal master, and was desired to take home a race-horse. The home was at a considerable distance, and Hackett, finding himself well mounted under circumstances that permitted absence, directed his course towards liberty—the incessant subject of solicitude with this unfortunate class. At this time he had in care the outside coat of the master, and he also had his gold watch: in what manner this last was obtained is not known. After many perils, he succeeded in finding and effecting his way through the long route intervening between Arkansas, in the remote south-west, and Canada, at its northern frontier: he passed through Detroit, in the state of Michigan, and took up his abode at London, or somewhere in the vicinity of Windsor, opposite to Detroit. In the course of the summer or fall he was followed. A person on behalf of his alleged owner consulted a lawyer of much respectability, Mr. George F. Porter, whether there was any mode by which Hackett could be recaptured into slavery. Mr. Porter, being an abolitionist, gave no encouragement. The application to him shows the governing motive of the master, and that he desired to repossess himself of the person of Hackett, not so much perhaps on account of his actual value, as

that his recaption, and the dreadful punishment that awaits the failing aspirant of liberty, might deter others from a like attempt.

The next thing known is that the agent went to Canada, and there had Hackett arrested for theft—stealing a coat, gold watch, and horse of A. B. (the master). Considerable interest was excited among the coloured people, by a proceeding which they well knew to be but a vindictive persecution for daring to assert self-liberty; but they found that Hackett was in custody, like any other alleged criminal upon informations sworn in Canada, and that he must abide the due trial of the charge at the ensuing assizes or circuit, to be held at Sandwich, in February or March, 1842. Nothing could be done until then, and Hackett and friends abided patiently the arrival of court.

The arrest was in the fall, probably October or November, 1841. It appears that Hackett was kept a very close prisoner—a lawyer, Mr. Baby, alone was permitted access to him during his confinement. After Hackett was thus arrested, his claimant had him indicted before a grand jury of Arkansas, for larceny; and procured from the governor of that state a demand on the governor of Canada for the surrender of Hackett. These papers were sent to the colonial government, and were received by Sir Charles Bagot about the time of his arrival in Canada. It is not known what kind of private applications or representations were made to Sir Charles, but it is probable, nay almost certain, that he was altogether imposed upon—that Hackett was represented as a great criminal, and that British sense of right was appealed to, to know if their government would screen villany, and reward with impunity the robber—that Hackett's colour, and the strongly extenuating circumstances of his case, were altogether suppressed. That misrepresentation was freely made I know, from the fact that his captors alleged in Detroit that Hackett had committed a rape, under aggravating circumstances, on his master's daughter—a charge not only without evidence of any kind, but which I ascertained to be false, and to have been suggested for the mere purpose of creating feeling against Hackett. Sufficient discredit is at once given to it, by the fact that it was not the subject of indictment. Had so aggravated an offence existed, it would readily have been seized on as the ground of demand on a foreign government not bound by treaty or usage to surrender, in place of the light one of larceny. It may also have been represented to Sir Charles, that, along the borders, the magistrates give up to each other those petty criminals who seek by flight across our dividing line an impunity from crime. Such is the fact. The surrender is unauthorized by law: it is the exercise of force—the exchange of neighbours' courtesy, and is winked at all round. There is a great difference between this border surrender of hen-roost pilferers, and the deliberate official action of the British nation, in its highest and most solemn sanction, forming a precedent in the usage of nations. The American slave-owner had also so managed as to secure the co-operation of those possessed of influence on the Canadian frontier, and poor Hackett became a miserable victim to combined power, skill, and wealth, while he lay a captive in British confinement, trusting with implicit confidence to the accused's sacred palladium—that boast of Britain's constitution—a trial by his peers. Neither himself nor a single friend were aware of the measures pursuing: they were prepared for trial, and for nothing else.

At any rate Sir Charles Bagot, deceived or not, ordered the surrender of Hackett, and gave warrant to the jailor at Sandwich to surrender him, and a letter to Colonel John Prince, of Sandwich, her Majesty's Consul (a kind of local attorney-general) and to all British authorities, to aid and assist in the delivery of Hackett to a man of the name of Davenport, who runs the ferry between Detroit and Windsor.

The mode of executing this warrant showed the parties' own consciousness of impropriety. It was not done in that open, fearless manner which imparts dignity to the law, and proclaims its sovereignty; but at nine or ten o'clock of a winter's night in the Canadas, when the severity of the season had housed every person and animal, during the month of February last, a party of men were collected, a boat was prepared, Hackett was seized without a moment's intimation, and hurried across the Detroit river amid masses of floating ice, and incarcerated in the Detroit gaol. Whether or not the demand on the Sandwich jailor had been previously made, is not known; but it probably was, and every arrangement had doubtless been leisurely made, though secretly.

In Detroit, Hackett was immured in a private cell. He was some days there before the fact was known, but it leaked out. I made application to see him: his being there at all was denied. I finally made application to our Supreme Court, and obtained a *habeas corpus*. I was then admitted to see Hackett, and shown the papers connected with his arrest. Hackett candidly avowed the fact, that he had used the horse as the means of procuring freedom. He had no way of restoring either it, watch, or coat; no demand was made for any of them. At his arrest he still had all of them, and all were received and used by his captors, as they admitted.

The papers then consisted only of the letter of Sir Charles Bagot's secretary, in official form, to Colonel Prince and other authorities, and an authenticated copy of the warrant of surrender. The indictment had been left with the colonial government, and its contents were stated to me by the agent and counsel of the captors. Sufficient evidence, however, was afforded, that the colonial government, whether rightly or discreetly, yet, in fact, had duly surrendered Hackett. The question then was—should we of Detroit contest the matter? We could have done so: a foreign warrant was of no validity with us. Hackett was illegally in



custody, and being brought by force within our jurisdiction, the federal laws made for recapture of fugitives from justice, or from labour, were alike inoperative, inasmuch as they require voluntary residence as the ground of jurisdiction. On consultation, we deemed it improper to interfere. Great Britain had taken the lead in the assertion of human rights; she had struck the fetters from her own slaves, and was pioneer among the nations of the world in abolishing slavery. She had formally thought proper to surrender an alleged criminal; she had deemed the offence so serious as to justify the exercise of that prerogative about which nations are so jealous that they have oft refused the surrender of even murderers. She had done so on mature deliberation. Would it become us to assume a standard higher than hers? to become the patrons of a crime she had thus markedly denounced as atrocious? We thought not: we were trustees seeking to carry out a great and sacred principle confided to us, and were bound to do so wisely and discreetly. Had we interfered in this case, we would have fought the battle of liberty, not on its own sacred principles, but as protectors of crime; for the prisoner was in custody as a criminal, not as a slave; and that he was an aggravated criminal, Britain's unusual surrender nationally avowed. To fight this contest, then, would but have weakened us for those that await us on the broad platform of man's inalienable rights; have added to existing prejudices that which would have arisen from our asserting a standard of morals higher than that of Great Britain. In Detroit we had begun to turn public sympathy in favour of the fugitive slave, and we dared not to weaken that sympathy for the many unfortunates who need it, by an exertion in behalf of a single individual.

We therefore reluctantly and with grief crushed down our own feelings, and sorrowing committed the hapless Hackett to the dire fate that awaited him—a fate, not as Sir Charles Bagot doubtless anticipated to be measured by the impartial majesty of law—but to be doomed by an incensed master, an infuriated overseer, and the vindictive passion of a slave-ocracy, daily smarting under the assertion of their captive's right to freedom. What that fate was we shuddered to think. May humanity never learn it; but let ignorance shroud it, along with many a deed of kindred horror, beneath its impenetrable veil.

I only add, that the project of recovering fugitive slaves, even from within the heretofore sacred palladium of British protection, by the cunning device of alleged crime, is becoming a matter of frequent occurrence, and is stimulated to increasing perfection by every successful issue. It is the duty of Great Britain, if she desires the protection of her national honour, to refuse the surrender, even of the petty foreign criminal, to that country which has denied to her the British murderer; and if she seeks consistency in her anti-slavery principles, she should avoid being deluded by a pretence of the slave interest that can procure larceny indictments for each fugitive, who, as a piece of locomotive property, commits a high theft in the eye of the slave-holding law, the moment he dares to steal himself from the tender mercies of avaricious power.

When Hackett was, as mentioned, rushed across the Detroit river under secret haste, and amid the darkness of a winter's night, the Canadian court which had cognizance of his offence was near at hand. What return was made of the informations, or what by the jailor of his charge, is not known. It will be recollected that Hackett was not at large, the legal subject of surrender by British authorities, but a prisoner under British law, for an offence it claimed to be in its jurisdiction, and the person of the alleged criminal was at the control only of that law. The justice who arrested Hackett was bound to have returned the informations to the court, and the jailor who had his custody was responsible for his person. The governor's warrant was controlled by the higher power of the law, and could have taken effect only when that law had performed its duty.

(Signed)

C. H. STEWART,  
Attorney and Counsellor at Law,  
Detroit, State of Michigan.

New York, August 9th, 1842.

#### REMARKS.

The writer of the above has carefully restricted his allegations within the bounds of stern fact, and excluded surmises, or aught that on inquiry might prove a mis-statement. There are however, we are assured, matters connected with the case, that aggravate its dark features. It is feared that Hackett was a victim of conspiracy among the Canadians and his pursuers. His restoration to captivity, and the recovery of the horse, watch and coat, were alone sufficient to stimulate cupidity, but the advantage of his capture from the very clutches of England was invaluable to men so affected by the escape of slaves, and who would thus be enabled to exhibit their power at overreaching even British protection. Their poor victims are too ignorant to understand the "modus operandi"—it is sufficient that they see within their masters' power one of themselves taken from soil heretofore deemed inaccessible to the slave-holder. This, of course, paralyzes all effort at escape, as proving that there is safety in no place. Thus the captors had every inducement to great exertion and pecuniary sacrifice. There is reason to fear that the whole proceeding was a concerted movement between the pursuers and the Canadian authorities, that the plan was arranged between them, that Hackett was to be arrested and held to bail until an indictment was found in Arkansas—a demand made, and the prisoner surrendered—that there never was any intention of trying the man in Canada—that the contrary was alleged only to deceive his

friends, and blind them as to the movement in Toronto—that the frontier authorities were to use, and did use their influence with Sir Charles Bagot—that they were to be well paid provided the surrender was made. The names of several official and private individuals, who it is confidently believed were engaged in this dark plot, have been given to us. Of course, much that then took place sleeps in the parties own bosoms, and, however plausible or strong conjectures may bear to their guilt, it would be improper to make it a matter of direct charge. The jailor undoubtedly required the sanction of the crown presiding officer before he gave up a prisoner for whom he was responsible, and some curious considerations must have governed that officer in departing so very far from his duty, and the law of the British empire. If the governor be properly applied to on this subject, he will, we presume, disclose the representations made to him, and bring to light the amount of fees paid to subordinate officers in the matter. We trust that the never tiring vigilance of the Committee in London will so conduct the inquiry, that the British governor and all his subordinates will be made to feel their responsibility, and that quietude may be given to the thousands of coloured American citizens who have sought an asylum in her Britannic Majesty's dominions.

#### THE RIOT IN PHILADELPHIA.

From the American and Foreign Anti-slavery Reporter.

On the 1st of August this city was disgraced by one of the most unprovoked and cruel outbreaks against the people of colour that has ever occurred in this country. The facts are substantially as follows:

The people of colour, especially the members of the coloured temperance societies, had made arrangements for the celebration of the 1st of August, the day when the shackles of slavery fell from 800,000 of their fellow men in the British West Indies, by a public procession, &c. We take the following account from the Philadelphia Daily Chronicle of August 2nd. After the procession had moved through several of the principal streets, and when it had reached Fourth and Plumb streets, in the district of Southwark, it was attacked by a volley of stones, thrown by the whites, and a white boy brutally attacked a coloured lad who was in the procession. A black man then struck the white boy over the head, when a general fight, in which thousands took part, ensued, and continued during the whole day. The blacks were seriously beaten at the onset, but rallied and thrashed the whites.

From Fourth and Plumb streets, the crowd of both colours ran to Fifth and Shippen, then up to Sixth and South, fighting with clubs, sticks, stones, brickbats, and whatever missiles they could obtain, until they reached the corner of Sixth and Lombard streets, within the precincts of the city. Some of the blacks took refuge in their own meeting houses in that neighbourhood, and their procession having been dispersed, the whites went to work and destroyed houses and property indiscriminately, so that they belonged to or were occupied by blacks.

During the fight we have attempted to describe, several persons engaged in it were very seriously hurt. One white man had his arm broken from a blow inflicted by a huge club in the hands of a black; another white man was stabbed with a knife or dirk in the eye: a black man named Metcalf had his right eye laid open by a blow from the weapon of a white, and some fifteen or twenty others were more or less seriously injured. The most desperate of the blacks was a deaf and dumb man, who did much mischief, and seriously injured several whites ere he was arrested by the police. The destruction of property was serious in several parts. In Lombard street below Sixth, a small court adjoining the African Wesleyan meeting house was filled with whites, who dashed bricks through the windows, smashing the glass, frame, and sashes of all in three or four houses. Other buildings in the same neighbourhood were treated in like manner. The frame house on the corner of South and Hirst-streets, presented the appearance of a fort after a fight with musketry; pieces of brick were sticking in the boards where they had been thrown by the whites, two of the window shutters were smashed in, the door broken, and windows shattered to atoms. In Mary-street, from Sixth to Eighth, a similar state of things was visible, as it was in most of the alleys and by-ways, in that section; so also in Bedford (Small) street. The police arrived on the ground during the skirmish, arrested several, and succeeded in restoring something like order, although thousands still remained standing about discussing the propriety of the farther destruction of property. All remained apparently quiet for two or three hours, the police having perfect mastery over the mob. About three o'clock, some few of the ringleaders (whites) had a skirmish with a small party of blacks, and the interference of the police was found necessary. One of the special constables in an attempt to arrest a lad, was mobbed, and a beautiful black cloth coat torn from his back. All this time there were several thousand people in Lombard-street, below Sixth, looking at the Wesleyan meeting house.

Being on the ground about four o'clock, we noticed the movements of some who appeared to be acting as ring-leaders, when a boy, certainly not over sixteen years old, set up a screeching howl, with waving of his hands to follow. In "less than no time" one-half the large crowd were imitating him, and off they started, running and howling like mad Indians, down Sixth to Mary street, discharging missiles at every house that had been inhabited by blacks (at this time most of them had moved off); through Mary street to Eighth, the mob continued their work of destruction, not increasing the damage much, however, as they had been all injured previously. The crowd now proceeded down Eighth to the county; they entered Bedford street, where all halted before some small frame houses, and shower upon shower of destructive missiles were hurled at them; the attention of the mob was then directed to a one-story meeting-house or school-room in the rear, the doors and windows of which were soon demolished; just at this moment, and when we were standing directly opposite the meeting house, a black discharged a loaded gun from one of the windows at the crowd, but did no damage. This added fuel to the flame, fences were torn down, the boards broken into strips, and a regular onslaught was made. A portion of the mob seeing the black who fired the



gun escape into a house fronting on Shippen street, rushed around and mobbed it; some of them entered through the windows, and after a hard fight, in which the blood streamed in a perfect flood from the head of the poor black, dying his shirt a crimson hue, they succeeded in wresting from him the gun, also an old sword, and securing him a prisoner. He was conveyed thence to the Moyamensing watch-house, this fight being in that district. While on his way thither, we saw a strapping white fellow strike the prisoner two awful blows on the head from behind him. The gun and sword were taken to the hall police house.

In an adjoining house to the one above named, it was intimated that a black had fire arms concealed, for the purpose of use, and this belief was increased from a portion of the rioters, who were on the top of the house, exclaiming that they saw the muzzle of a gun coming up from the opening of the trap-door. The mob then rushed into the house and secured a black, whom the police conveyed to the hall for examination; and the gun was also discovered; it contained a load of nearly a foot deep, which led us to think that he who discharged it would be more likely to be injured than any one else. These two blacks having been secured in the Moyamensing police office, and the rioters feeling importance from their success, now made bold to attack any and every black they could find, and in all directions we saw them (the blacks) running, as if to save their lives. Nothing of particular importance appearing to satisfy the rioters in the county, they approached the city, and attacked any and every black they met with. In Lombard-street, in the neighbourhood of Sixth and Seventh, a stalwart black was attacked and seriously beaten; to protect himself he fired a pistol, the contents of which, some shot, lodged in the persons of three boys, two of whom were slightly hurt. This still more increased the rioters, and their work of destruction now found greater scope; they mobbed the black and beat him so severely that he was nearly killed, when the police rescued him from their hands. Some arrests were made, and the black taken to the lock-up house for protection, and afterwards to the hospital for medical aid. Another black was dreadfully beaten in a small alley or court. He was taken up nearly dead, and conveyed to the police office. One was nearly murdered in Lombard, below Seventh. After he had been beaten senseless, he was dragged by the rioters holding on to his heels, his head striking against the paving stones in the street. He was taken up lifeless, and conveyed to the police office. Another black was caught on the roof of a house, brought to the street, but not seriously hurt. During all the time that the incidents above were being enacted, there were in several parts of the rioting districts thousands of persons collected near the scenes of the morning's destruction; and riots of a less nature than those mentioned, have been going on. In fact, every part of the southern district, from Pine to Plumb, and from Fifth to Eighth-streets, was a scene of lawless confusion. Pursuing their course further up the city, the rioters attacked a black, corner of Locust and Sixth-streets, and beat him almost to death—he was taken to the police office for protection, and afterwards to the hospital. We conclude this much of our report, at half-past 6 o'clock evening.

SEVEN O'CLOCK.—There are at this time five blacks who were hurt in the affray lying on the floor of the lock-up-house, at the police office, corner of Sixth and Chesnut streets; persons are attending them with water, sponge, and restoratives. The office presents more the appearance of a hospital after a field of battle than anything else. The rioters are increasing in number; the mayor has just dispatched additional special police; there is every probability of serious destruction of property to-night. Eight o'clock.—An order was issued to close all the public squares, the state-house, and the public offices, at dark, and all are now shut up. A detachment of the police has just brought to the mayor's office six of the rioters, and they are to undergo an examination immediately. E. Woodruff, one of the special officers, in arresting one of the six above mentioned, was struck a blow on the forehead with a bludgeon, which laid it open about two inches. He is in Brown's drug store having the wound dressed. There are now in the hospital no less than eleven persons, who have been seriously injured in the fight. An order has been issued for a portion of the military (volunteers) to be in readiness at the armories by nine o'clock. General Cadwalader, who was called on, is to have command of them, if called out.

#### FIRE—BURNING OF THE HALL.

HALF-PAST NINE O'CLOCK.—We accompanied the sheriff to the scene of riot, and stood immediately at his side until after the firing of the hall. The crowd gathered gradually in the vicinity of Lombard and Seventh streets, from five o'clock. At about eight o'clock the streets were thronged with spectators anticipating the burning of the hall. The first attack upon the building, at about a quarter past eight o'clock, was by a few half-grown lads who threw a few bricks, but were immediately dispersed by some of the officers who accompanied the sheriff. In about twenty minutes afterwards, a body of the most ruffianly looking fellows we ever saw congregated together arrived, and renewed the attack with stones. The sheriff, attended by Judge Todd and a few citizens, with some four or five sheriff's officers, placed themselves in front of the hall, and called upon the mob to desist, which they did for a few moments. As soon as the stoning ceased, a gentleman mounted a lime box in front of the sheriff, and said that he wished the assemblage to understand that he was the master-builder of the hall, and that it was not intended for an abolition meeting-house, but for a place of public worship, and that Mr. Smith, for whom he was erecting it, had said to him that it was his intention to have no meeting there that the mayor disapproved of. The mob set up a hideous hooting at this announcement; amid which Judge Todd ascended the lime-box, and entreated the assemblage not to persist in their violence—that they could not throw stones without injuring some of their fellow citizens, and perhaps the sheriff—the son of Robert Morris—who was upon the ground, and that their acts would be such as many of them would be sorry for on the morrow. The Judge's advice had no other effect than to provoke another ebullition of yells and screams. The sheriff also called upon the mob to desist, but in vain—another shower of missiles rendered the retreat of all in front of the building necessary for their preservation. The sheriff and Judge Todd, however, remained on the pavement in front of the hall after the citizens had fled from it, at the risk of injury from the heavy missiles that fell upon every side of them. Indeed, both these gentlemen behaved in the most brave and praiseworthy manner.

During all this time no police appeared. The sheriff was called upon by several citizens to uphold the majesty of the law, who were informed in reply that his force was not adequate—his whole posse amounting to but

twenty-five men. At nine o'clock the building was fired, and in about twenty minutes enveloped in one sheet of flame, presenting a spectacle at once grand and terrific. The Hall was fired by a man in the rear, who escaped over the fence. In twenty minutes after the fire broke out the side walls fell, and in about a quarter of an hour after that the front wall fell with a tremendous crash, the bricks striking the houses on the opposite side of the street. The houses on each side adjoining the hall were crushed by the falling of the walls. Some time after the fire broke out about two hundred special police made their appearance. The hall destroyed by fire was the property of a wealthy black, named Smith, who resides at Columbia, as we are informed. On a stone in the centre, above the second story, was a tablet bearing the date, and an inscription that it was a beneficial hall. The sheriff was absent from the city during the day, and until four o'clock in the afternoon, when, upon being apprised of the intention of the rioters, he made application to General Patterson for a volunteer force, but in consequence of the General's election being contested, he could not obtain aid from that source. General Cadwalader issued orders early in the evening for several companies to assemble at their armories, which they did with great promptitude, but not in time to render the necessary assistance. The carpenters and others who had been employed upon the hall, which was not quite finished, left off work in the morning, and carried with them all their tools; it having been intimated thus early that it would be fired after nightfall.

#### ANOTHER FIRE—BURNING OF THE CHURCH.

HALF-PAST TEN O'CLOCK.—A few minutes after ten o'clock, the Presbyterian church, belonging to and the place of worship for the blacks, in Mary-street, below Seventh, north side, was discovered to be on fire. The fire was within a stone's throw of the former, and like the hall, the church was entirely destroyed. We are glad to be able to state, that, though thousands of persons were in the neighbourhood of the fires at the time the walls fell, not an individual was hurt in the least.

ELEVEN O'CLOCK.—The meeting-house in Sixth-street, above Lombard, known as Allen's, is still filled with the blacks who took refuge there in the morning. Great fears were had that it would be fired, but it has escaped the torch, and the lives of the affrighted beings concealed there are preserved. The first regiment city volunteers are on duty now, to serve all night at their armories, fully equipped, awaiting orders; those on duty in the early part of the evening have been dismissed. A black man was arrested by some of the police officers, standing back of the hall; he held in his hand a large hatchet, which he said was to protect himself. He did not seem disposed for mischief. There has been no bloodshed that we could ascertain, since our last report.

TWELVE O'CLOCK.—We must go to press, but have the satisfaction of announcing the end of hostilities for the night. The mob in the disaffected districts have mostly dispersed; the fires are down, and but little damage was done to any but the buildings above mentioned. The firemen were not allowed to throw water on those houses, but very adroitly saved all the adjoining properties from every damage but a severe scorching. An extra police is on duty in all directions; the city is perfectly quiet for the night, and we trust for ever, from such daring outrages.

AUGUST 2nd.—A large number of coloured persons took refuge in the surrounding counties and states, and some took refuge at the city police office. The coal heavers and others on the wharves of the Schuylkill river quitted their work, and made an attack upon several coloured men, one of whom was cut and bruised. The sheriff's posse went out to arrest the rioters, but were driven off. There were several attacks made upon coloured persons in the south-west part of the city. A poor and aged coloured man, while sawing wood, was attacked by a mob, and cruelly beaten. Several arrests and commitments were made. The sheriff and mayor added largely to their forces by afternoon, and a brigade of troops were ordered out. The watchmen commenced lighting their lamps long before the usual time. The Lombard-street hall is an entire heap of ruins, and the bare walls of the church in St. Mary's-street are all that remain of that fabric. Mr. Smith has sued the county for the destruction of his building.

#### REMARKS.

Several causes might be assigned for these horrible outbreaks. The people of colour have been the victims of temperance. The honourable exertions they have made in this noble cause infuriated the white rum sellers, whose gains were greatly lessened by the abstinence of the coloured people, and the efforts some of them had made to purify the infected district where large bodies of them resided. Dr. Bias, a coloured physician in Philadelphia, has assured us that no less than 450 grogeries existed in that portion of the city, whose average receipts were formerly five dollars each, and that the efforts made to reclaim drunkards during the last year had reduced the average daily receipts to about fifty cents! The keepers of these dens of hell were accustomed to allure children into their employment, sending them out to beg and pilfer, giving them lodgings in their cellars, and paying them and their parents in rum! The temperance reform, produced in this part of the city chiefly by the instrumentality of coloured citizens, occasioned a loss of business and profits that exasperated those who profit by the vice and intemperance of their fellow-men. These degraded whites, most of them low foreigners, could not endure that the black population should rise above them, and, therefore, they conspired to trample them into the dust. This, doubtless, was a principal cause of the recent outbreak. In Philadelphia, more than in most of our cities, coloured men are employed as porters, drivers of coaches, draymen, &c., and, the white labourers, especially the Irish, were resolved on rooting them out. That class of the Philadelphia population who hate religion, temperance, and moral reform, thought it a fit opportunity to vent their spite upon those who were disposed to respect God and themselves, and abstain from vice. Add to the above, the ever burning animosity felt by certain portions of the community against abolitionists, and we have probably the principal causes of the late riots in Philadelphia.

#### EGYPTIAN SLAVE-HUNTS.

We have received the following from Dr. Madden:—  
To the Editor of the Anti-slavery Reporter.

DEAR SIR.—The enclosed may interest you. It is a communication I received from my German friend in Egypt, the same who gave the account of the slave hunts in Sennar, published in your paper. It is evident that, ere long, the slave-hunts of Mohammed Ali will be carried into Abyssinia. I am, &c., R. R. MADDEN.

Sloane Square, 10th September, 1842.



Cairo, July 28th, 1842.

I am sorry to inform you that the Gasul or slave-hunting, is just as bad as it has been heretofore. You see, then, there is no dependence to be placed on Mohammed Ali's promises. He will grant audiences whenever they are demanded upon pressing occasions, or when importuned by diplomatic notes; but farther remonstrances go for little here. You must never believe that Mohammed Ali made any sacrifices out of regard for humanity, or that fewer slaves are carried away now than formerly. We lately made inquiries at the custom-house, and received the information that the toll on imported slaves will amount at the end of the year to the same sum as in former years. Were his interests to suffer, he certainly would not have given his word to stop the slave-hunts, or, if he did, would not have kept it.

Achmet Pacha, governor of Soudan, is supposed to have determined on advancing in a short time, with hostile intentions, either against Darfur, or, it may be, on the province of Amhara, in Abyssinia. He has lately formed two new regiments in Sennar, and had from here (Cairo) reinforcements, in the shape of a cohort of marauders consisting of Arnauts and other rabble. The cruelties to be perpetrated by these brigands it is frightful to reflect on beforehand. I have been informed that the troops of Mohammed Ali have attacked Abyssinia on the side of Kalabat, and taken many christians into slavery. That Abyssinia should have been attacked is not extraordinary, as it was long ago known to be the intention of Mohammed Ali to do so. In the year 1837, the troops under Kurahid Pacha advanced as far as the frontier, and were only five days' march from Gondar, but he did not feel himself strong enough to adventure further. But there exists at this time a cause for this movement. I dare say you know that in the beginning of the present year Ras Ali was in a bad way. He was attacked on one side from Esbie on Tygre, whilst in the south he had the Galla tribes as enemies. Under these circumstances he sought for assistance from Achmet Pacha, which was at once given him, and then attacked the Galla. This, no doubt, was the cause of the entry of Mohammed Ali's troops into Abyssinia. At present we must wait for intelligence from that quarter, whether they will remain there or return; the result may be of great importance.

#### NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The list of subscriptions in our last from Cockermonth should have appeared thus:—

	£	s.	d.
Spencer, Jeremiah	5	0	0
Harris, Jonathan	0	5	0

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

### Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, SEPTEMBER 21st.

THE recent proceedings of the Council of government at Trinidad are of the greatest importance. It appears that, on learning the arrival off the coast of a vessel from St. Helena, (the *Chieftain*) with 233 liberated Africans on board, the governor assembled the Council, by special summons, at the unusual hour of eight in the morning, to propose the passing of an ordinance enabling him to interfere with their liberty by apprenticing them for twelve months. Accordingly the standing rules were suspended, and the ordinance passed with the utmost rapidity, as, (to use his Excellency's language,) "they could not land the immigrants till it was passed." The ordinance itself appears in a subsequent number of the *Trinidad Standard*; and a pretty fair judgment of it may be formed from the following summary in the same paper. "The ordinance declares that the governor shall have the power of indenting the liberated Africans, as he shall think fit, for one twelvemonth, and a schedule is attached to the indenture prescribing the wages and allowances to be given to the person hired. Power is given to the stipendiary magistrate to visit and see the treatment observed towards the immigrants, and a penalty of £500 sterling is laid upon any person found enticing them to leave the island; there is also a penalty fixed at not less than £5 sterling, nor more than £40 sterling, for any person employing, harbouring, or concealing the apprentice during the period of his apprenticeship. It also appearing that several expenses have been incurred by the captain of the *Chieftain*, the payment of which does not come within the provisions of the immigration ordinance, his Excellency proposed that the parties obtaining labourers should pay a premium for them." The ordinance was brought into immediate bearing upon the unhappy victims for whom it was intended. Two hundred and thirty of the liberated (!) Africans brought by the *Chieftain*, we are told by the *Standard*, "were distributed to different planters by the government agent for immigration, under the form of indenture required by the government, and were all delivered within thirty-six hours after their arrival. To satisfy the applications made," the writer continues, "would have required more than 4000 labourers."

The proceedings of the Council on this occasion present some remarkable features. In introducing the measure, his Excellency said that "the Sierra Leone people were \* \* \* quite capable of taking care of themselves, but that those from St. Helena, who had just been rescued by our cruisers, were in a savage state, and ought to be protected!" The attorney-general tells us that "the present ordinance is drawn so as to place every thing in the hands of the governor himself \* \* \* who would make the contract with the parties without being bound down by any particular rule with regard to wages." The solicitor-general made the considerate suggestion that "all who stood in relationship to each other, such

as husband and wife, parent and child," should be included in the same indenture, and, "in case of the death of the party holding the indenture, should all be assigned over to one person;" but this was overruled. When the governor stated "there would be a premium paid on the Africans by the parties to whom they were indentured," Mr. Peschier made the natural observation, "Some people might say they bought them"—to which his Excellency rejoined in the following somewhat undignified terms:—"He scouted the idea of buying these people; it was some cant of some newspaper report of an anti-slavery meeting. Let them not care for what the world said; let them fearlessly do their duty, and the world would see the benefits which would result."

No doubt of it. And the world will hear something—if not the governor himself, who it appears, has set out for England—of these remarkable sayings and doings of Sir Henry M'Leod. For our parts we are glad that the steam is up so soon, and that this audacious attempt at restoring the coercion of the olden time is made before the so called system of free emigration of African "savages" is further advanced. Will Mr. Laird tell us that Africans "might be got" in any quantity, knowingly to undergo the delights of a twelve months' apprenticeship to Trinidad sugar planters? In the hurry of their rail-road legislation, these gentlemen have forgotten the whip and the stocks; but the necessary clauses will be easily added hereafter.

Instead of pursuing our remarks further to-day, we shall insert the following observations from the *Barbados Liberal*:—

This early attempt at coercion, however it might take some of our readers by surprise, is nothing surprising to us. We have all along said that it would come to this—that the immigration of so-called free labourers, for which the planters of some of these colonies have so long and so loudly clamoured as the only means of averting ruin, and by which their new-born philanthropy professes to aim at nothing less than the regeneration of Africa, is really not meant to be anything other or better than a modified slavery—a re-introduction, for their special benefit, of all that a dearly-bought experience assures us are the inalienable attendants of that state. This is their real aim. This is what they mean by free immigration on a large scale from Africa, the unhappy scene and subject of their past cruelties; and left to themselves, if that immigration be permitted, this it would inevitably be made by their ingenious contrivances, until another age produce another Wilberforce to marshal public opinion for its destruction, or until patience, no longer able to endure, memorialize its sufferings and its decacy in a monument of blood.

The late slave-holders of these colonies, whatever their professions may testify to the contrary, have as a body no sympathy with freedom. They respect not—it would be wonderful if they did respect—the equal rights of that race in which for generations and generations past they were accustomed to see only their destined slaves. An act of parliament—the over-powering will of the British people—has severed the terrible yoke from the necks of these, and bid them be free; but this will was inoperative on the mind and disposition of the slaveholder. It not in the least influenced him. It found him with no common link of affection, binding him in sentiment with the negro as men having one and the same nature, and it left him precisely as it found him—or if in any respect different, exasperated at the impious interference which violated a decree of providence, and robbed him of his rightful property in the slave. And with this sentiment ranking at their hearts, and at times, in spite of all their caution, mounting up to their lips and forcing utterance in speech, these are the men who claim to be allowed the guardianship of the African, as a means of his social and moral advancement! These are they who are to civilize and evangelize Africa, by entering into full competition with the slave-trader, and transporting her purchased sons and daughters to their cane fields as free immigrant labourers! And in this enactment of the Trinidad Council we have a foretaste of the kind and amount of freedom which awaits them. Already, before the feet of the first batch have touched the shore, and whilst yet cooped up within the narrow limits of their ship, it has been discovered to be "necessary" to bind them down to a twelve months' servitude, under penalties ranging from five to five hundred pounds sterling. By and bye, with the light of experience, the necessity for extending the term of servitude, if not for these for new-comers, will doubtless be discovered; and then upon the back of this will naturally come the other discovery, that the half-savages require more stringent laws to govern them than existed heretofore. And the planter will then be in all his glory!

In directing the attention of our friends in Britain to this enactment of the Trinidad Council of government, we need not point out to them the complete inefficiency of the stipendiary magistrates as protectors of the rights and interests of the planters' bond-servants. We have seen something of this before, during the former system of apprenticeship. Even where the magistrate is not the bottle companion and mere tool of the planter—and few may claim a higher character—it is impossible that he should be able in every case even to apprehend the grievances to which, in the ordinary routine of plantation management, the complaining labourer may be daily subjected. In a multitude of conceivable cases, the complaint will for this reason appear frivolous, if not unfounded; and the planter will never be at a loss for a witness or witnesses, if necessary, to bear him out in his protestations of innocence. We are but referring here to experience of the past for evidence of what will probably be in future. The giving of "power to the stipendiary magistrates to visit and see the treatment observed towards the immigrants," must not blind the British public to the real state of things. Such power might as well not have been given for any actual protection which it can afford to the "immigrant," so long as the right to change his employment is denied him.

Of the amount of "wages and allowances" which the Council have prescribed as a fair remuneration for the services of the "immigrant," and the quantity of coerced labour which he is to render in return for these, we are not told, nor need we say anything in this place. These, with the purchase money paid by the planter under the new name of "premium," are circumstances about which we need not trouble ourselves, if the main object of the enactment is to be allowed. If the planters are to be indulged with a renewed negro slavery, we shall not quarrel with them for buying their slaves either from the native chiefs or from the Governor and Council, nor can we reasonably object to their treating the said slaves in every respect as slaves. How else should they treat them?



THE particulars of the recent outrage at Philadelphia, which we have given to-day from the *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, will be read with inexpressible disgust. Alas! for the loud vaunts of liberty and human rights! But we restrain ourselves, in order to insert the following admirable letter of Mr. Whittier, from the *Emancipator and Free American*.

DEAR FRIEND ALDEN,—I have just finished reading an account of the late horrible outrages perpetrated by the whites of Philadelphia upon the coloured inhabitants of that city. It has made me sick at heart. I asked myself, is this really the nineteenth century? Is it all a dream that we have heard of bibles, and missions, and revivals? Have we been mocked all along by the shams and shadows of a merely nominal christianity, covering an atheism in practice, which neither fears God nor regards man? In all past history, blackened as its pages are by the record of wrong and injustice, I know of nothing more atrocious than this outrage. Nero turned loose the Roman rabble and the beasts of his bloody theatres upon the poor and wretched christians, but Nero professed nothing better than the most corrupt form of paganism. His "Most Christian Majesty" of Spain hunted the Jews and Musselmans from his dominions, but we no where learn that he ever endorsed the doctrine that "all men are created equal."

This dreadful outbreak is but a development of the deep, fixed, all-pervading national sin—PREJUDICE AGAINST COLOUR.

The same cruel and cowardly hatred of the coloured man which has excluded him from the meeting houses and the communion tables of the different religious sects in Philadelphia, stimulated and urged on the infuriated populace to the destruction of his life and property. The sanctimonious "respecters of persons" in the church and pulpit, the blasphemers who pervert the holy scriptures to sanction their "partiality and hypocrisy," upon them rests the responsibility of this hateful persecution. Spurned from the "table of the Lord" by hands stained with the outpourings of the mystic symbol of the great sacrifice, what marvel that the miserable coloured man sinks under the clubs and brickbats of the mob without! If the professed followers of the meek and lowly Jesus could not endure his presence in the house of prayer, shall we wonder that their feeling is shared by the infidel and scorner in the street?

I know something of the coloured people of Philadelphia. Persecuted through every avenue of society—loaded down with grievous disabilities—as a class, their self-reliance, patience, and persevering efforts to acquire education and the means of subsistence for themselves and families, have called forth my admiration. Their whole existence has been one long struggle against the prejudices and oppressions of the white majority. They have been stripped of the rights of citizens by a deliberate enactment, and then taunted for their lack of enterprise and spirit. They have been shut out from academies and colleges, and then abused for their ignorance. Their oppressors have broken up their temperance processions, and then scoffed at them as drunken and vicious, sacked their houses and destroyed their property, and then made their poverty an excuse for farther outrage; driven them out from all the proud and stately churches of the city, and then burned down their own humble ones; made the very bible which should have comforted the afflicted in their sufferings, by torturing its precepts into a sanction of slavery and prejudice, an object of loathing and abhorrence, and then reproached them with irreverence and infidelity. Reactiveness under such accumulated wrongs is negro insolence and insubordination. The slightest resistance, as in the case of the late mob, is a crime to be expiated by the murder of children, the outrage of women, the maiming and wounding of men, the plunder and destruction of dwellings, and the burning of the sanctuaries of the despised race, as an acceptable offering to the roused hatred of this christian "city of brotherly love."

The newspapers of the city are silent. No voice is lifted for the poor. The churches are silent—the pulpit will continue, as they have done, to foster or propitiate the monster of prejudice. We have heard there of nightly revivals of religion—we shall hear of more doubtless. Old and New Presbyterian, Baptists and Methodists, and Episcopalians will boast of their growing numbers. The *Te Deums* of their sectarian triumphs will rise above the low sobs of the negro mother by her desolate hearth stone. But God is not mocked. The spirit of Him who went about doing good has no fellowship with a religion without humanity.

And the press and the pulpit of New England—will they speak? Shall our political pro-slavery parties and sectarian associations "wrap up" this iniquity?

As a member of the Society of Friends, it is to me a painful consideration that, in Philadelphia, where that society has had in times past an almost controlling influence, and where, in point of numbers and wealth, it still holds an important position, the horrible prejudice against colour is stronger than in any other part of the United States. From the testimony of the coloured people themselves, and from my own observation, I cannot doubt that a portion of the heavy responsibility of this melancholy state of things rests upon Friends. As a body, I fear they have not rebuked by their own precept and example the unchristian feeling of the community, although many individuals among them have been and still are distinguished for their self-denying and zealous labours in behalf of their coloured brethren. To all who have neglected their duty in this respect, the late dreadful outrages, should be a solemn warning, bringing home to each one the serious inquiry whether the "inquisition for blood" will find you guiltless.

JOHN G. WHITTIER.

Amesbury, 6th Eighth Month, 1842.

There will be found in our columns to-day the account obtained by our American friends of the circumstances attending the surrender of Nelson Hackett, the fugitive slave, to the authorities of Arkansas. It now appears that Sir Charles Bagot is the party responsible for the act, and there are many probabilities that he was artfully imposed upon. However this may have been, the case is a very serious one, and must give rise to very serious discussion. We wait impatiently for the papers which, at the last hour, were laid on the table of the House of Commons in relation to it, but of which the printing and delivery are unaccountably delayed.

THE *Cerneen* of the 4th of April, contains a letter of Messrs. Irving and Barclay, the agents for Mauritius, dated the 21st of December, 1841, apprising their correspondents in that island of the intentions of Lord Stanley in relation to the exportation of labourers from India. The intelligence is said to have produced an indescribable "sensation;" and later papers inform us that a large sum of money was speedily voted, to carry the expected order in council into execution. The *Cerneen* is candid enough to admit that "the title of 'protector' [of immigrants] sounds rather gratingly on the ears of the colonists of Mauritius." We wish the thing, protection, may not be at least equally disagreeable.

#### THE NEW TREATY WITH THE UNITED STATES.

THE treaty with the United States, which has just been negotiated by Lord Ashburton, and ratified by the American senate amidst so many tokens of popular approbation, contains three clauses of a bearing more or less direct on the question of slavery, and we give them entire below. The last of them is by far the most important. Whether this stipulation for the mutual surrender of fugitives from justice may, by either a natural or a forced construction, be extended to the case of fugitive slaves, remains to be seen. The best legal opinions on this point, will, of course, be taken by the friends of humanity on both sides of the water; and the most strenuous efforts to prevent so great an evil will be made on all hands, should they become necessary.

##### ARTICLE VIII.

The parties mutually stipulate that each shall prepare, equip, and maintain in service, on the coast of Africa, a sufficient and adequate squadron, or naval force of vessels, of suitable numbers and description, to carry in all not less than 80 guns, to enforce separately and respectively the laws, rights, and obligations of each of the two countries, for the suppression of the slave-trade; the said squadrons to be independent of each other, but the two governments stipulating, nevertheless, to give such orders to the officers commanding their respective forces as shall enable them most effectually to act in concert and co-operation, upon mutual consultation, as exigencies may arise, for the attainment of the true object of this article; copies of all such orders to be communicated by each government to the other respectively.

##### ARTICLE IX.

Whereas, notwithstanding all efforts which may be made on the coast of Africa for suppressing the slave-trade, the facilities for carrying on that traffic and avoiding the vigilance of cruisers by the fraudulent use of flags, and other means are so great, and the temptations for pursuing it, while a market can be found for slaves, so strong, as that the desired result may be long delayed, unless all markets be shut against the purchase of African negroes; the parties to this treaty agree that they will unite in all becoming representations and remonstrances with any and all powers within whose dominions such markets are allowed to exist, and that they will urge upon all such powers the propriety and duty of closing such markets at once and for ever.

##### ARTICLE X.

It is agreed that the United States and her Britannic Majesty shall, upon mutual requisitions by them, or their ministers, officers, or authorities, respectively made, deliver up to justice all persons who, being charged with the crime of murder, or assault with intent to commit murder, or piracy, or arson, or robbery, or forgery, or the utterance of forged papers, committed within the jurisdiction of either, shall seek an asylum, or shall be found, within the territories of the other; provided, that this shall only be done upon such evidence of criminality as, according to the laws of the place where the fugitive or person so charged shall be found, would justify his apprehension and commitment for trial, if the crime or offence had there been committed; and the respective judges and other magistrates of the two governments shall have power, jurisdiction, and authority, upon complaint made under oath, to issue a warrant for the apprehension of the fugitive or person so charged, that he may be brought before such judges or other magistrates respectively, to the end that the evidence of criminality may be heard and considered; and if on such hearing the evidence be deemed sufficient to sustain the charge, it shall be the duty of the examining judge or magistrate to certify the same to the proper executive authority, that a warrant may issue for the surrender of such fugitive. The expense of such apprehension and delivery shall be borne and defrayed by the party who makes the requisition and receives the fugitive.

#### IMPORTANT PROCEEDINGS AT TRINIDAD.

##### COUNCIL OF GOVERNMENT,

Monday, 27th June, 1842.

His Excellency the Governor, president.

The honorables the Colonial Secretary, the Colonial Treasurer, the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, the Collector of Customs; Messrs. Peschier, Losch, Scott, and Philip.

The council met this morning at eight o'clock.

His EXCELLENCY stated that he had called the council together at a short summons, in consequence of the arrival of the *Chieftain* from St. Helena, with 253 liberated Africans. Immigrants arriving here were generally hired as labourers at once, and went where they pleased; but his opinion was, that people coming here, ignorant of the language, should be protected and placed out for a time. He had been directed by the secretary of state, in the event of any captured Africans arriving from St. Helena, to put them on the same footing as those which had arrived from Sierra Leone; but he had written home, stating that there was a great deal of difference between the two classes—that the Sierra Leone people understood English, and were in a great measure civilized, quite capable of taking care of themselves; but that those from St. Helena, who had been just rescued by our cruisers, were in a savage state, and therefore ought to be protected. The secretary of state agreed with him on the subject, and he (the governor) now proposed to indent them for twelve months. He was a strong friend to the African, and would do all he could for his welfare; but he thought it would be cruel to turn him loose on society. They would



be bound for twelve months. He had directed a short ordinance to be prepared, authorising him to indent these Africans for one year; not only those from St. Helena, but should any be sent here by any of her Majesty's cruisers to be adjudicated, that they should likewise be indented.

[The Chief Justice and Mr. Ganteaume here entered and took their seats.]

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL.—In consequence of what had been announced by his Excellency, he would move the suspension of the standing rules, in order that he might bring in an ordinance "to make provision for, and promote the industry of, the liberated Africans recently introduced into this colony." His Excellency had explained the nature of the case, and he (the Attorney-General) would merely refer to an ordinance which had been passed for protecting Africans when a system of modified slavery existed (19th March, 1835), by which authority was given to indent them for three years. That ordinance it would be better now to repeal. The present ordinance was drawn so as to place everything in the hands of the governor himself. It was infinitely better that it should be dealt with by the executive, as he would make the contract with the parties without being bound down by any particular rule with regard to wages, which must always be left to the state of parties, and the circumstances of the colony.

The bill was read a first time.

Mr. LOSH.—It seemed to him that, in the title of the ordinance, the words "promoting the industry of the liberated Africans" would be better.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL had no objection to those words being inserted. The ordinance was then read a second time, and the board went into committee.

Mr. LOSH.—It would be well for parties in the country to do away with allowances the latter part of the time.

His EXCELLENCY intended that in the last three months they should have no provisions allowed them, but that in lieu thereof they should have additional wages.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL then read the clauses.

SOLICITOR-GENERAL.—Would it not be well to include in the same indenture all who stood in relationship to each other, such as husband and wife, parent and child, &c., and that in case of the death of the party holding the indenture they should all be assigned over to one person?

His EXCELLENCY.—These people were of several different nations: there were only two women on board who had husbands: they did not any of them seem to be related.

The CHIEF JUSTICE thought it would be more convenient to have separate indentures for each labourer.

Mr. LOSH.—Was it intended that on the death of the manager of an estate the indenture should cease?

Mr. SCOTT.—Or suppose the agent of an absent proprietor died, would the indenture cease?

His EXCELLENCY.—No! there would be another agent appointed. The governor would rebind to make up the twelve month.

Mr. SCOTT observed there was no provision made in case the labourer absconded. It was not enough that his allowances and wages should be stopped—some punishment should be added.

Dr. PHILIP thought that, as the facilities of going from one estate to another were so great, some provision should be made for punishing parties employing labourers, &c., knowing them to be indented labourers.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL.—That would be provided for.

The Attorney-General then read the bill. It provides that the governor shall have the authority to indent the Africans to such parties as he thinks fit for one year. The wages and allowances to be given are to be endorsed on the indentures—also the time to be allowed for religious instruction. Stipendiary magistrates to visit the parties, and the apprentices to be produced under penalty. Persons taking away these indented Africans from the colony to be liable to a penalty of £500 sterling, with or without twelve months' imprisonment. Persons harbouring or employing indented labourers to be liable to a penalty of £20 sterling, and also to an action of damages for one dollar per day for hiring such Africans, to be recovered in any competent court.

His EXCELLENCY.—It would be necessary to pass the ordinance, as they could not land the immigrants until it was passed. There would be a premium paid on them by the parties to whom they were indented.

Mr. PESCHIER.—Some people might say that they bought these people.

His EXCELLENCY.—They were called upon to pay an enormous sum for labourers, and he thought it only fair and right that those who benefited should pay part of these expenses. The sum of £170 had been charged for necessities for these people, and they were not allowed by the superintendent at St. Helena to leave without these things were provided. The captain of the *Chieftain* knew that these people were wanted here, and very properly paid that sum. He scouted the idea of buying these people: it was some cant of some newspaper report of an anti-slavery meeting. Let them not care for what the world said—let them fearlessly do their duty, and the world would see the benefits which would result.

The CHIEF JUSTICE considered that a clause would be required, authorizing the governor to apply that premium.

His EXCELLENCY.—They could say that a certain sum was paid—he did not care how they worded it. He was convinced they were doing good to the colony in placing these people out.

The CHIEF JUSTICE thought a difficulty might occur, if this clause was not inserted.

His EXCELLENCY.—He should not object to a fixed premium. He had already mentioned a sum to the agent-general.

Mr. SCOTT had not seen the captain of the *Chieftain*, but had heard that he was disposed to go back again for another cargo, if he had some sort of guarantee for the expenses.

His EXCELLENCY would pay the expense of immigrants arriving here, but he would not give any guarantee; the forty-five dollars were sufficient. If parties coming here with immigrants found it pay, they would go back again for more.

The ordinance was read a third time and passed.

The CHIEF JUSTICE moved that it do come into immediate operation.—Carried.

LIBERATED AFRICANS FROM RIO JANEIRO.

His EXCELLENCY would take this opportunity of telling the board that he expected some liberated Africans from Rio Janeiro. He had written to Lord Stanley on the subject, who had referred his application to Lord

Aberdeen, and the result was, he was happy to say, that one-half should be sent to Trinidad, and the other half to Demerara. This was exceedingly liberal, as British Guiana was a much larger colony than Trinidad. Lord Aberdeen had written to Mr. H. Hamilton, at Rio, from whom he had received a letter, stating that he would see the greatest care taken that Trinidad should have an equal share. Of the 120 which had arrived in Demerara, Mr. Light had been directed to send sixty down here; but he had received a letter from Mr. Light, stating, that as these people had been distributed about the country, there would be great difficulty in collecting them, but as another cargo was expected, he would send it on here. He had written to Mr. Ouseley, attached to the British legation at Rio, that in future he would make the division himself there.

A BUILDING FOR THE RECEPTION OF IMMIGRANTS.

Dr. PHILIP would suggest to his Excellency and the board, that some place should be provided for the immigrants previous to their being placed out, as there were a large number expected.

His EXCELLENCY.—Dr. Philip's suggestion should be taken into consideration. There might be a difference of opinion on some future occasion between him and the planters, and he should not give way.

The clerk of council had never had occasion to hire a place for the Africans.

His EXCELLENCY.—He must recollect that they had a very different sort of people to deal with. The Sierra Leone people were capable of making their own bargains. They did not want a remarkably good house, but such a place as the people could be accommodated in. It would be well to appoint a committee to look out for a house, in case these people arrived here.

SUGAR CULTURE IN CUBA.

THE following article, from a recent number of the *Guiana Gazette*, is altogether too remarkable not to find a place in our columns; but we must be understood as giving it only as we find it, without expressing our concurrence in its statements. They may be all accurate; but some of them seem to demand inquiry and confirmation.

From the *Guiana Gazette*.

In the course of the late annual prosperity-ruin debate in the Combined Court, Mr. Croal, upon the ruin side of the question, stated it as his opinion, that to talk of free labour competing with slave labour in the production of sugar was perfectly idle and preposterous, the absurdest notion that ever entered into the head of a dreamer.

Now, by way of throwing a little light upon this subject, we beg leave to submit the following statement of the expenses and present produce of a sugar estate in Cuba, lately drawn up by a very intelligent gentleman, one of the most extensive proprietors and attorneys in that island; and communicated to a Demerara planter, who happened to be his fellow-passenger across the Atlantic. It will be seen that the circumstances under which it was drawn up do not leave it open to those suspicions of being framed to suit a particular purpose, to which the statements quoted in the prosperity-ruin debate are unquestionably open. For the sake of clearness, we have changed the order of the original memorandum; but all the items and all the figures remain precisely as given by the Cuba planter.

"Calculation of the expenses and income of a sugar estate in the island of Cuba, which cost 150,000 dollars, and which makes 1500 boxes of clayed sugar, of 400lbs. each, of three different qualities; viz., two-fifths white, and the remainder brown and moist. This estate consists of from 800 to 900 acres, having 330 acres in canes of all ages. Add one-third to the amount of clayed sugars, (according to the usual calculations,) and the produce is equal to 350 tons Muscovado sugar, or 466 hogsheads of 15 cwt. each, being a little over a ton to an acre. This estate is cultivated by 160 slaves.

Twelve slaves, at 400 dollars each, being an outlay of 4800 dollars, are required annually to keep up the population. Legal interest in Cuba, which, of course, runs upon debts incurred and remaining unpaid, is 12 per cent.

EXPENSES.

	dollars
Manager . . . . .	900
1st Overseer . . . . .	650
2nd Ditto. . . . .	380
Director of the manufacture of sugar . . . . .	750
Engineers . . . . .	700
Clerk . . . . .	360
Doctor . . . . .	300
Carpenters . . . . .	500
Table for manager and overseers . . . . .	800
<b>Total salaries . . . . .</b>	<b>5340</b>
Food purchased in addition to vegetables raised on the estate . . . . .	4000
Clothing . . . . .	800
Repairs of engine, pans, &c. . . . .	1590
Cattle, 100 oxen, requiring an annual purchase of 15 . . . . .	750
Tiles, hose, cutlasses, tallow, oil, &c. . . . .	1800
1500 sugar boxes . . . . .	1880
Nails, hides, &c. . . . .	400
Lumber . . . . .	400
Transportation 1500 boxes . . . . .	3000

19,870 say 20,000

PRODUCE.

1500 boxes, less 5 per cent for 75 Tythes or Taxes	
<b>1425—</b>	
Say 570 white, 9120 arabao (of 26lbs.) at 1 dollar . . . . .	9120
428 yellow, 6848 ditto, ditto, at 50 cents . . . . .	3424
427 moist, 6832 ditto, ditto, at 30 cents . . . . .	2562
1425 boxes, at 3 dollars 25 cents each . . . . .	4631
	<b>19,737</b>



No rum or molasses, as it will not pay the expense of manufacture, hogsheads, and transport."

It will thus be seen that this estate does not pay its current expenses, without making any allowance for interest on capital invested, repairs, or for the 4800 dollars annually required to keep good the stock of labour.

Add this annual expense for keeping up the labour of the estate to the other current expenses, and the net average cost of each box of sugar (without any allowance for repairs or interest) is 18 dollars 66 cents; or taking four boxes to be equivalent to a hogshead, the sugar is produced at the expense of 74 dollars 64 cents per hogshead.

Now, who will undertake to say, that, with good management, economy, and retrenchment, even supposing no accession to our present stock of labour, sugar cannot be produced in this colony at less than 74 dollars 64 cents per hogshead? In point of fact, it is at this moment produced on several estates at a much less cost. We, therefore, conclude, that the idea of free labour competing with slave labour in the production of sugar, is not so chimerical as Mr. Croal supposes. If we can compute with Cuba, there is no other slave colony of which we need be afraid.

The memorandum from which we copy, adds:—"The above prices are those ruling at present, but they are only one half of those lately received." This sentence conveys a most important hint to the British West Indies. Of late, when the price of Cuba sugar was high, the Cuba planters were seized with the immigration fever, and, in the course of three or four years, they introduced about 100,000 additional slaves into the island; in consequence of which the increase of produce has brought down the price, till three quarters of the estates are working at a loss, and the proprietors are on the point of ruin. It is only a few of the largest estates that pay their expenses. Q. Suppose the British West India planters could have their way, and could bring to their estates, in the course of three or four years, 100,000 immigrants from the coast of Africa, what would be the price of sugars in the English market four years hence? and even supposing the produce to be doubled, would not the planters be worse off than they are now? It would be all very well, if we alone could have immigrants; but, if we have them, Trinidad has them, Jamaica has them, Mauritius has them, St. Vincent, Tobago, St. Lucia, and Dominica have them; and, for aught we know, Honduras also. Seventy or eighty thousand hogsheads of sugar, or even fifty thousand, added to the present supply, would bring down the price of British plantation sugars to the Cuba level, being, in fact, just about the prices of the years 1827, 1830, and 1831. This immigration hobby, to say nothing of its cost, would thus appear but too likely to break the necks of its riders.

### Literary Notice.

*Emigration to the British West Indies.* Liverpool: 1842.

The author of this tract (who is understood to be the rev. W. Bevan, of Liverpool) has, in the compass of fourteen pages, given a luminous and admirable summary of the facts relating to the important question he treats of. His general views may be gathered from the following paragraph.

Such projects must be promptly and earnestly refused. The necessity for them is not adequately proved. Their unrighteousness has been fearfully exhibited. Let justice be established in the colonies between the poor and the rich, the employed and the employers, and, if emigration be then needed, it will flow in. It has ceased to flow, only because these lands have groaned under aggravated miseries. And if it cease for this, is the British nation to become the minister of crime? the instrument of cruelty to involuntary victims?—p. 13.

### Contemporary Press.

#### LORD ASHBURTON'S TREATY.

This treaty, termed "A Boundary Treaty," then goes on to speak of putting down the slave-trade. And in reference to putting down the slave trade it stipulates the extradition of the subjects of the respective governments taking refuge in the territory of the other—that is to say, it ingrafts upon a proposition to put an end to the slave-trade, the surrender of the rights of England to free slaves that touch her soil!—*Morning Herald*.

We find that the American slave-owners, and the journals devoted to what they deem their interest, regard these articles of the treaty as something very different from waste-paper. The following, from an American paper, indicates, we think, a deeper insight into the character and tendency of the stipulations than has been shown by our contemporary:—

"We enter on the subject with pain—it is one that we now would gladly avoid, but a great public measure is in question, and one on which the press is bound to speak according to its honest opinions.

"Let us suppose, then, that the British and American ministers resident at Rio Janeiro wait upon the minister of Foreign Affairs there, and, in obedience to the provisions of the 9th article of the treaty, remonstrate with him upon the existence there of a slave market. With the Englishman it would be tolerably plain sailing. He has a treaty with Brazil, extorted from her fears, and all he would have to do would be to insist on its execution. But our countryman must proceed on different grounds; for it would be absurd for him to insist on the execution of a treaty to which his country is not a party. He must base his remonstrance on general principles. He must talk of 'the great work of benevolence and humanity,' 'the diabolical traffic.' Well, when he has done, what would be more natural than for the Brazilian to say, 'Mr. Jonathan, you remonstrate with me on our slave market here; pray have you not one at home?' 'Oh yes! but it is only for slaves who have been born, or may be born in the country.' 'Indeed,' rejoins the Brazilian, 'but I can see no difference between buying a slave on the coast of Africa or one on the banks of the Mississippi, unless it be that the latter is less humane than the former, as your slave was born in a civilized land, and is alive to the kindly feelings of our nature. Whereas I buy a mere savage, scarce knowing aught of the ties from which I sever him.' What, we should like to know, could an American diplomatist answer to this?

"It is thus that England works out her grand plan of general emancipation, now become a political necessity to her. It is by placing, step by step, countries holding slaves in such a position that they cannot extricate themselves from it without emancipation. It was not the guns of France she wanted to obtain by the quintuple treaty. It is not our guns she

cares for in the Ashburton and Webster treaty. She has enough of them of her own. It is the flag of France, and our stripes and stars floating with the red cross, that she wishes to exhibit united, avowedly in the suppression of the African slave trade, knowing, as she does, that the display is the most palpable contradiction, the most bitter reproach, to the slave markets in the United States and the French colonies. And the time will come when she will tell us so. Can we then say, nay?"—*Morning Post*.

#### THE MENDI MISSION.

THE partial disappointment of the hopes entertained respecting the Mendians of the *Amistad* is candidly stated in the American papers, but the correspondence is too long for insertion in our columns. We make room, however, for the following extract of a letter from Mr. Steele, which will give a fair general idea of the case. Those remaining with Mr. Raymond are located within the limits of Sierra Leone. Mr. Steele says:—

"I have, in my letters to Mr. T., sometimes mentioned the ill conduct of the Mendians, and have thought he would think them worse than they are, or that we only looked upon the worst side. We have certainly been disappointed, and may be too much inclined to think of their ill conduct. But upon a full review, and learning, as I have, that some who have been taken home to England and educated have, on their return, gone back entirely to their old habits, I do not think our people have done worse than might be expected. The natural heart is selfish, and while these men were in the States, they found much in the attentions which their friends paid them to gratify this natural propensity. They had many things given them, and Cinque supposed that the missionaries and all the goods belonged to him. When he found out his mistake, he wished to be free from the promise he made Mr. Tappan on the steam-boat. He has left us and gone to try his own fortunes at trade. The people were regarded as objects of pity, and their own sins were lost sight of in the enormity of the sins of their oppressors. They were told that Jesus Christ had given them friends, had delivered them from bondage, had died to save them, and that they must love him, and they thought they did love him; but the whole of it was selfishness—they had no idea of practising that benevolence which the gospel requires. Still they were under great restraints, especially in America; they thought that if one did anything evil, it would be charged upon the whole; and this, with a desire to secure friends in a strange land, made them very watchful over each other; but it was manifest that they were not free from the influence of their instructions after they arrived in their own land. When at Bendo, I told Banna he might stay with his mother and other friends, but he said he would not forsake us, he would stay by us till we were settled. I repeatedly heard Fu-li at prayer while we were on our journey down the coast; and he not only repeated the Lord's Prayer, which he had learned, but would pray extempore. I hope there are others who have not forgotten what they have heard. Mr. Raymond informs me that the girls resisted the most pressing solicitations to return to the country fashion."

**BRITISH GUIANA.** [From the *Guiana Gazette*.]—Though at the present moment there is a great depression in trade, and the planters are by no means in high spirits, yet we think that the future prospects of the colony are better than they have been for years. From the very commencement of the abolition agitation in 1820, or thereabout, down to the present moment, though the colony, together with some long periods of severe distress, enjoyed some shorter periods of apparent prosperity, yet the future was always exceedingly uncertain. In addition to the changing price of sugar, there were several other causes of fluctuation in value, and, during that whole period, the value of sugar properties was merely nominal and speculative. No prudent man would have paid cash for a plantation at anything like the nominal prices for which they were sold, and in nineteen cases out of twenty they were purchased by adventurers who hoped to make the estates pay for themselves, a hope in which, nineteen times out of twenty, they were sadly disappointed. Estates may now be expected to come down to a reasonable cash value, which, of course, must be far below the old prices. With respect to the mutual relations of the proprietors and the labourers, the four years that have passed have witnessed a very great improvement upon both sides. Both parties have learned much, and both are beginning to apprehend their true position. The ideas of both parties on the subject of economy and good management have greatly improved, and must presently lead to good results. We have heard of one resident proprietary house, which already this year has diminished its expenses twenty thousand dollars, though at the same time increasing its produce and extending its cultivation.

**THE CORN LAWS.**—(Extract of a letter to Mr. Sturge, dated Philadelphia, August 25, 1842.)—If your government would repeal the duty on our bread stuffs, upon condition of our admitting a like quantity of your manufactures free from duty, it would tend to bring about the extinction of slavery. Such an act of Great Britain would find so many warm advocates here, that it is probable a corresponding act could be procured from our government. In any event, the days of slavery are numbered. A high tariff may retard, but it cannot prevent the abolition of this "peculiar institution." Wheat and other bread stuffs will once more become our staple of exports—the free labour of India will exclude our slave raised cotton from your market. Is it not clearly to the interest of Great Britain to admit our bread stuffs free from duty? It will enable us to buy (and to pay for) so much more of your manufactures. The wants of the people in this new country, with a continually increasing population, are such, that we will buy all that the soil of our produce will pay for.

**LORD ASHBURTON'S TREATY—THE CREOLE.**—(Extract of a letter from a gentleman in New York, to Mr. Sturge.)—The *Creole* case is not concluded! Those violent men in this country who asserted, that adherence to the ground taken by the British government would be a just cause of war, have lowered their crests.

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